

*A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe*

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## FRANCE AND GERMANY AWAITING ELECTIONS

**Fall of Laval Cabinet First Sign of  
Stiff Battle in Campaign for  
Lower House Seats**

## GERMANY TO CHOOSE PRESIDENT

**European Political Situation Will  
Be Uncertain Until Re-  
sults Are Known**

After months of intense activity the European political situation has reached a virtual standstill. Developments in the internal political situation in France and in Germany have forced those countries to withdraw from the international stage. Each has immediate problems to settle and until they are settled there must be a lull in European politics, for both France and Germany occupy such a commanding international position today that there can be a settlement of no world problem without their participation. It is expected, therefore, that while the disarmament conference will progress quietly with its work, little of importance will be heard from Geneva until there is a clearing up of the political situation in Paris and Berlin. The same is true with respect to the problem of German reparations and allied war debts. Everything must wait the turn of events in France and in Germany.

### COMING ELECTIONS

The reason for this enforced inactivity of European affairs, is that the two countries are nearing important elections. The French people will choose new members for the Chamber of Deputies sometime in April, or perhaps not until May. In Germany there will be a presidential election on March 13. The policies which the two nations will adopt toward international problems will depend on the results of those elections. Therefore, as the events which are taking place in France and in Germany are of such widespread interest, it is important at this time to examine the political situation in each of the countries.

The first real signs of disturbance in France came on February 16, when Premier Laval and his entire cabinet resigned because of the hostile attitude of the French Senate toward the policies of the French premier. This overturn came as a surprise, but French politics have a habit of behaving in a surprising manner. The system of government is such that a minister is never sure of holding office for any prolonged period of time. It is important to bear this in mind when discussing developments in French politics. Nothing is ever certain. A premier may be securely in power one day, only to be turned out the next. This is what happened to M. Laval. It has happened to many other French premiers in the past. Since this is true, before considering the reason for M. Laval's resignation and its bearing on the coming elections, it is necessary to survey briefly the structure of the French government and the manner in which it functions.

### FRENCH GOVERNMENT

France is of course a republic. It has a president and two legislative chambers, a Senate, or upper house, and a Chamber

(Concluded of page 7, column 1)



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GEORGE W. NORRIS

## Senator Norris, Long an Outstanding Leader Among Progressive Republicans

"That man is a trouble maker, isn't he?" The remark was made one day this winter when Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska walked into the Senate chamber. The comment came from a business man who was visiting Washington and who was spending a little while in the Senate gallery. He was expressing a view of Senator Norris which is very common among the conservatives. In Chambers of Commerce or Rotary Clubs throughout the nation, the prevailing opinion of the Nebraska senator would probably be one similar to that expressed by the business man whom we have quoted. Those who think that the way to guarantee prosperity is to assist great corporations so that they may be encouraged to redouble their efforts and make business hum—those who think it is a bad thing for the country to interfere with business organizations, or to put restraints upon them—such people are likely to regard Senator Norris as a trouble maker, for he lacks their confidence in the benevolence of big business. He stands for an increasing measure of governmental control over the agencies of production and distribution.

Senator Norris is in the public eye just at present because of his leadership in the long campaign for the submission of the "Lame Duck" amendment which we describe in another column of this paper. He is also championing a bill which would limit the power of the courts to issue injunctions depriving workers of their right to organize into unions and to carry on

labor union operations. He is fighting desperately to secure governmental operation of the Muscle Shoals power plant and to prevent the turning over of that great piece of power-producing machinery to private power interests. It is the conviction of Senator Norris that the power issue is a paramount one. He thinks that the influence of the so-called "power-trust" should be curbed and that government authority should intervene to secure for the people cheaper electricity.

Senator Norris will therefore be seen at any time to be fighting for what he considers to be the best interests of laborers, farmers, and, in general, consumers. He is suspicious of the great manufacturing and distributing companies, standing as the exponent of the unorganized masses. He is known as a leader of the liberal forces and he fights untiringly for the liberal, or progressive, principles.

Though a recognized leader of liberalism, Senator Norris is doing little to weld the liberal forces into a strong political organization. Perhaps he is not enough of an advertiser, and has not at his command enough of the arts by which voters are influenced, to lead a popular movement. He has not a magnetic personality and does not sway crowds. Furthermore, he is growing old and disillusioned and tired. He has vitality enough to fight vigorously for progressive programs in the Senate, but he lacks the strength and the optimism to be a great crusader.

## BOTH HOUSES APPROVE LAME DUCK PROPOSAL

**Constitutional Amendment Would  
Advance Opening Date of Con-  
gress and Inaugural Day**

## MUST BE RATIFIED BY STATES

**Would Abolish Short Session of  
Congress. Danger of Fili-  
bustering Lessened**

During the present session of Congress, both houses have passed a resolution which may in time become the twentieth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. It is the famous "Lame Duck" amendment which, during the past ten years, has been the source of an almost constant congressional battle. The Senate had already adopted the resolution on five different occasions before the opening of the Seventy-second Congress on December 7 of last year. It was again passed by that body on January 6—for the sixth time. But the House of Representatives had never been able to reach an agreement upon the important matter of adding this new amendment to the Constitution. True, the lower house passed a "Lame Duck" resolution at the last session. But it differed widely from the Senate proposal and thus failed to meet the approval of the upper chamber. Hence, it had to be reintroduced during this session. But on February 16, the House of Representatives adopted, by a vote of 335 to 56, a resolution identical with the Senate proposal except for a few minor details. The proposed constitutional amendment has now been referred to a special committee, composed of members from both houses, to iron out the differences.

### NATURE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the "Lame Duck" amendment is to permit the president of the United States and members of Congress to take office as soon after election as is possible, and at a much earlier date than is now the case. Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska has for years been advocating this. He has been untiring in his efforts to secure the passage of this measure. Time after time, Congress has adjourned without acting favorably upon the "Lame Duck" proposal, but Mr. Norris has returned the following December, reintroduced the resolution, and fought to secure its passage. He has, in fact, become known as the "father of the Lame Duck amendment" because of the role he has played. Mr. Norris and those who have been striving to amend the Constitution believe that in a democratic form of government the men whom the people have selected at the polls to represent them should be allowed to take up their duties as soon after the elections as is feasible—a condition which does not exist at present.

What is the present situation with regard to the assembling of Congress and the inauguration of the president? What are the objections to the system which has prevailed for more than a hundred years? What would be the advantages of a change, such as that embodied in the "Lame Duck" resolution? A consideration of the coming elections will afford an excellent example of the system as it works today, because this is a year in which both the president and members of Congress are chosen.





DUCK SOUP

—Talbot in Washington News

## THE PRESENT SYSTEM

In November, a president of the United States will be elected. At the same time, the entire membership of the House of Representatives will be voted upon, as well as one-third of the members of the Senate. The successful candidates, however, will not be placed in office immediately. The president will not be inaugurated until March 4, 1933—four months after he is elected. The senators and representatives victorious in the November elections will have to wait longer. They will not play any active part in running the government and in enacting legislation until December, 1933—thirteen months later—unless the president should call a special session before that time. The term of office of the members of the House of Representatives will have nearly half expired before they are sworn in.

In the meantime, however, an entire session of Congress is to be held. It will be the second, or short, session, lasting from December, 1932, until March, 1933. But the members of that session will not be those victorious in the November elections. They will be those who are now assembled in Washington. Many of them will have undoubtedly been defeated in November. Yet they will remain in office, passing laws for the people and running the government for three months.

Every short session of Congress—starting in December of the even years—usually has from thirty to eighty members defeated in the elections of the month previous. It is these senators and representatives who sit throughout a session of Congress in spite of having been defeated at the polls, who have been called "Lame Ducks." The object of the proposed constitutional amendment is to prevent such members from holding office after defeat.

## "LAME DUCKS"

Senator Norris has pointed out the disadvantages of such a system. Such members of Congress often have little consideration for the real problems at hand, it is held. They know that their term of office expires in March. Many of them have their eyes fixed upon a political appointment after that time. They know that in order to obtain it, they must heed the advice of the administration or of influential political leaders. Hence, they cast their votes with this end in view. In speaking of the "Lame Duck" members of a Congress, Representative Celler of New York recently made the following remark:

A lame duck is a wild bird that has been hit with a bullet by a hunter and is brought down. It is not killed, merely lamed and wounded. It is usually tractable, docile, and is easily tamed. So it is with lame ducks in this House and probably in the other House. They have been hit with the shot of defeat by their constituents, and they become very lame, docile, and tractable, and when they have jobs dangled before them they do the bidding of the Executive or those who may be in power.

Such a condition would largely be overcome by the so-called "Lame Duck" amendment. It prohibits senators and representatives defeated in November from coming back to their desks and enacting legislation the following month and through the short session. In order to accomplish this, it provides that Congress shall meet every year on January 4 instead of the first Monday in December as at present. Therefore, a member elected in November would take up his duties two months later instead of thirteen as is now the case.

## ADVANTAGES

Perhaps the greatest advantage to be obtained from this change in the meeting date of Congress is that it would enable the voters to obtain action more quickly upon the issues for which the candidates stood during the election campaign. In outlining these advantages, Senator Norris has said:

The only direct opportunity that the citizens of the country have to express their ideas and their wishes in regard to national legislation is the expression of their will through the election of their representatives at the general election in November. During the campaign that precedes this election the great questions demanding attention at the hands of the new Congress are discussed at length before the people and throughout the country, and it is only fair to presume that the members of Congress chosen at that election fairly represent the ideas of a majority of the people as to what legislation is desirable. In a Government "by the people" the wishes of a majority should be crystallized into legislation as soon as possible after those wishes have been made known.

In addition to changing the date of the opening of Congress, the "Lame Duck" amendment also provides that the president shall take office earlier. Inauguration Day shall no longer be March 4 but shall be advanced to January 24, according to the resolution adopted by the House. The twenty days between the opening of Congress and the inauguration of the president would give Congress an opportunity to complete its organization and to receive the election returns. In case the electoral vote for the president should result in a tie, the House of Representatives would have time to elect a president, as provided by the Constitution.

It is strange that the United States government is the only one in the world to have such a thing as "Lame Ducks." In other countries, candidates who are victorious in the national elections are placed in office shortly after they have been chosen. In some countries only a very few weeks elapse; in others only a few months. But in no other country do the victorious candidates have to wait thirteen months before taking an active part in the affairs of government. Neither does such a condition prevail in the various states of the United States. In most instances, the state legislatures convene in January, two months after the elections.

## EARLY TIMES

This system, however, was almost a necessity in the early days of our government due to conditions which prevailed at that time. A hundred or more years ago, there were few transportation facilities. Members of Congress, particularly those of the western states, were unable to reach the capital within a short time. The lack of communication facilities was another handicap. Whereas election returns are now available throughout the country within a few hours after the polls close, the results were not known formerly until several weeks had passed.

Another advantage of the "Lame Duck" amendment is that it completely abolishes the short session of Congress.

Under the present system, the second session must arbitrarily end before March 4 because the term of office of the old members expires at that time. But the second session could, under the proposed amendment, remain assembled as long after January 4 as it wished. It would not have to adjourn until it had completed all its business and had given careful consideration to all matters before it.

## FILIBUSTERING

As it is, the work of the short session is largely confined to the appropriation bills which provide money for the running of the government for another year. Three months are often insufficient to study the numerous bills presented. As a result there is hurried legislation or important bills are not passed. Then, too, there is always danger of "filibustering" at the last minute. This practice is followed in the Senate. In that body, there is no time limit placed upon the speeches of members. A senator may hold the floor for hours or even days if he desires. One or two members do this for the purpose of blocking a certain piece of legislation. They know that no vote can be taken while they are talking. Hence, they continue to speak until the hour of adjournment, thus preventing a vote on a piece of legislation which, perhaps, might be favored by a majority of the members. The use of "filibuster" would be greatly lessened by the "Lame Duck" amendment since no definite date for the adjournment of Congress would be fixed.

Congress could, of course, change the date of meeting from the first Monday in December without a constitutional amendment. That date has been fixed by the Constitution unless Congress should decide upon another date. A new session could start any time after March 4. The date for the assembling of the new Congress has, in fact, been changed many times in the past. The most notable instance was during the administration of Andrew Johnson. There was such bitter feeling at that time that Congress passed an act fixing the date for the opening of the new Congress on March 4. For six years, one Congress went out and the other came in without any elapse of time. This act, however, was repealed in 1871.

A similar act of Congress now would permit newly elected members to assemble four months after election instead of thirteen. But it would not do away with the short session, the "filibuster" and other disadvantages. Then, too, a new Congress coming together in March would necessarily have to run through the summer months. By the time the routine work had been completed, the summer weather would be upon the legislators making it difficult for them to do efficient legislative work.

## RATIFICATION

The "Lame Duck" amendment will not,

of course, become a part of the Constitution unless it is ratified by three-fourths of the states of the Union, as provided by the Constitution itself. The states will be given seven years in which to act favorably upon it. This time limit has been attached to the last several amendments. But in the case of the last two, the eighteenth, or prohibition amendment, and the nineteenth, or woman suffrage amendment, the states have acted with comparatively little delay. The necessary three-fourths had ratified them within a little more than a year.

As the proposed amendment comes before the legislatures of the various states, objections to it will naturally be heard just as there have been on the floors of Congress during the past ten years. It will doubtless be pointed out that the system has worked successfully during more than a hundred years and there is little need for tinkering with the document handed down by the Fathers. It will also be said that the twenty days between the assembling of Congress and the inauguration of the president are insufficient to permit Congress to organize and elect a president and vice-president in case of a tie vote in the electoral college. Then, too, it will be argued that the thirteen months' inactivity is a good thing because it allows time to reflect upon the important issues of the election campaign and to do serious thinking on the subjects at hand before taking action which may prove to be unwise.

## RUSSIAN COTTON

Recent reports from Soviet Russia indicate that that country may soon offer stiff competition to American growers and exporters of cotton. Numerous shiploads of exceptionally high-grade cotton, it is said, are arriving constantly at Liverpool and Manchester, England—great distributing centers for raw cotton. The importance of this trade is emphasized by figures covering the last three years. In 1929, Russia supplied less than one per cent of Britain's total imports of cotton. During the first eleven months of 1931, her share jumped to thirty per cent.

But that is only half the story about Russian cotton. From Moscow comes the announcement that a mechanical cotton picker has been invented capable of harvesting from fifteen to seventeen acres a day. If such a machine is put into successful operation, it will be an important factor in the development of the Soviet cotton industry. One of the greatest handicaps to cotton growers in the past has been the slow process of harvesting the crop. Progress along this line, however, has also been made in the United States. A new cotton-picking machine recently perfected in this country is said to be ready for use in harvesting the next crop.



—From HARPER'S WEEKLY (Culver Service)

## RELAY ON THE OLD BOSTON POST ROAD

In the early days travel was a long and arduous process. This was the reason why newly elected members to Congress could not assume their duties soon after election. Hence, the necessity for the short session.





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IN DUBLIN, THE CAPITAL OF THE IRISH FREE STATE

## Elections in Irish Free State Give Victory to de Valera, Former Revolutionary Hero

Eamon de Valera, born in New York City of an Irish mother and a Spanish father, has won a victory in Irish politics. A revolutionary firebrand for the past twenty years, he has now gained the right to lead the Irish Free State when its parliament convenes on March 9. In the elections which took place two weeks ago, the party led by William T. Cosgrave was defeated after ten years of control. Although the final results will not be known until after March 2, Cosgrave himself has admitted that de Valera has won. As the president of the Irish cabinet is like the prime minister in any other country, this change of administration is very important.

Its real significance is bound up with the history of the country. For seven hundred years, England has been embroiled in one conflict after another with the southern part of this little island to the west, now known as the Irish Free State. At intervals, British troops have gone in and sought to quell rebellions and uprisings. Their success was only temporary, for fresh disturbances were sure to break out later. The last series of insurrections began during the World War. An organization known as the Sinn Fein was formed by the same de Valera who is now the accepted leader of the Irish Free State. It marshaled its forces and started a revolution. Indeed, on Easter Monday, 1916, an Irish Republic was proclaimed in Dublin with de Valera as president. English troops soon smothered this movement, however, and took control of the island. From that time until 1920, there was continuous fighting between English troops and Irish rebels. Finally, the English prime minister, Lloyd George, decided that a way had to be found to satisfy both the needs of England and the demands of Ireland.

Accordingly, negotiations for a peace treaty began in 1921 and eventually succeeded. The Irish parliament, which had been set up by the rebels, was recognized, and provision was made for a separate constitution. Ireland was given the status of a dominion, and was made equal to Canada among the nations of the British Empire. The constitution which was drawn up in 1922 determined the relationship which England would bear to Ireland. It provided for a governor-general of Ireland, appointed by the king of England, but subject to the approval of the Irish parliament. England reserved the right to take over any Irish port which it might find necessary to her naval maneuvers in case of war. Each Irishman elected to the par-

liament in Dublin had to take an oath of allegiance to the king of England before assuming office.

But it was not de Valera, the leader of the revolution, who negotiated with the English and drew up the constitution. He had lost the approval of the people, and William Cosgrave came into power. Cosgrave was elected president of the first cabinet, and has remained in control throughout the whole ten years. De Valera organized a party called the Fianna Fail, which continuously has advocated a complete rupture with England, and the setting up of a separate Irish Republic. It wished to release from Irish prisons all those who have been confined for political offenses, such as revolutionary agitation. This is because many of these prisoners are members of the party.

The Cosgrave group, on the other hand, known officially as the Company of the Gael, stands for continued membership in the British Empire. It urges development of Ireland as a separate economic unit and favors a high tariff to protect Irish industries. It desires a return to the original Irish language and a rebirth of Irish culture. It seeks to promote friendly relations with the six counties in the north of Ireland which refused to rebel against England, and which are still largely under English control.

De Valera will now be made president of the Irish cabinet. The Dail, or lower house of parliament, will convene on March 9 and he will be placed in office. When it became certain that he would be elected, de Valera became much less radical than he had been. It is believed that he will refrain from following out his whole program. He will probably attempt to abolish the oath of allegiance to the British king, and to release political prisoners. It is thought unlikely that he will continue his efforts to break entirely away from Great Britain. There are good reasons for this expected change of attitude. First of all, Ireland is dependent upon British markets for the sale of an overwhelming percentage of its products. People are beginning to think that it would be

unwise to risk losing these markets. If the Irish should drop out of the British Empire, they would have to give up the preference which England accords to the trade of her dominions. Also, Irish finance, both governmental and private, is bolstered up very largely by English financial interests. Should the Irish leaders show signs of a very radical policy, it is feared that English bankers would withdraw their funds and possibly bring about a collapse of the Irish banking system.

Thus, de Valera will, it is thought, be forced to cooperate with Great Britain, or run the risk of losing his popularity with those of his followers who are dependent upon English good will and support for their prosperity. And the majority which he will command in the Dail will not be large enough to permit the execution of radical proposals. Newspaper articles in England likewise seem to indicate that the English are not very concerned over de Valera's victory, as they know how vital England is to Ireland.

## SHALL WE BOYCOTT?

A group of influential citizens, led by President Lowell of Harvard University and Newton D. Baker, recently addressed an important petition to President Hoover. They requested that the United States pledge itself to join with the League of Nations in the application of an economic boycott against Japan. The petition was sent in anticipation of the meeting of the League of Nations Assembly which has been called for March 3 to consider the Far Eastern crisis. The signers are of the belief that if the Assembly should decide to bring Article XVI of the League Covenant into force, the United States should be ready to cooperate. Should such a step be taken, this country and the members of the League of Nations would cease to have any contact, commercial, financial or diplomatic with Japan.

The proposal evoked strong protest from Senator Borah, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Mr. Borah stated that such action would be the "best way to advance the cause of war between this country and Japan." The administration in Washington appears to side with the senator from Idaho.

## THOUGHTS AND SMILES

Generosity is the flower of justice.

—Hawthorne

The dreadful sounds we sometimes hear over the radio are caused by sun-spots, an astronomer believes. I heard one sun-spot last night that was a soprano and one that was a tenor.

—Detroit News

Yes, a dollar goes further now, but you likewise have to go further to get a dollar.

—Arkansas Gazette

"It is a common thing in Italy to see a woman knitting at her meals," says a traveller. It must be rather thrilling to watch a short-sighted woman knitting a spaghetti jumper.

—London HUMORIST

The first test of patriotism is to be a Democrat and pray for good times before November.

—Los Angeles Times

Our nature consists in motion; complete rest is death.

—Pascal

The Chinese are ushering in a new year. We trust that it will be even more promising than 1932.

—Washington Post

A business man has spent three years trying to discover how many relatives he has in this country. The quickest way is to buy a summer cottage by the sea.

—London HUMORIST

Dr. Mary Woolley, a delegate to the disarmament conference, says that she has never met a difficulty out of which a way could not be found, never having tried to open a bottle of olives with a kitchen knife.

—New York SUN

Anybody who isn't broke has been getting the breaks.

—Arizona PRODUCER

Federal Architects to Dine, says a headline. We have known all along that business was getting better.

—Washington Post

White ants, it is reported, destroyed a lot of high school diplomas in West Virginia, and if the kids that way are like most youngsters, they would have preferred to have the insects eat the report cards.

—Milwaukee SENTINEL

"The laurel," says a nature writer, "is probably the most attractive of our evergreen shrubs." Though holly has its points.

—London OPINION

**PRONUNCIATIONS:** Painleve (pan-le-vay)—n is scarcely sounded, Doumer (doo-mair'), Anschluss (ahn-schloos), Sinn Fein (shin fain), Dail (do-eel'—o as in or), Gael (gail), Fianna Fail (fee-an-na fo-eel'), Kiangwan (kee-an-wan), Pu-yi (poo-ee).



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A QUAIN BIT OF RURAL IRELAND

Near the hill of Tara, ancient government seat of Ireland.



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WEDNESDAY, MARCH 2, 1932

### REVIEW OF THE WEEK

**D**ISPLAYING an amazing power of resistance, the Chinese, up to February 23, had managed to defeat every effort of the Japanese to drive them out of Shanghai and the surrounding districts. The "Battle of Shanghai" began in earnest on February 20 when the Japanese launched a strong offensive after the Chinese had refused to obey an ultimatum to withdraw their forces. Severe fighting took place around Chapei, Kiangwan and the Woosung forts. After three days of unsuccessful attack, the Japanese were obliged to cease hostilities while awaiting reinforcements. It was reported that 30,000 additional troops would arrive within a few days. The Chinese were said to have increased their available forces to 120,000. They so outnumbered the 35,000 Japanese that the latter would almost certainly have been overwhelmed had it not been for the superiority of their air forces, their tanks and their artillery.

Meanwhile, the Council of the League of Nations announced on February 19 that it would call the entire Assembly into session on March 3, to consider the crisis. This step was taken as a result of insistent demands on the part of the Chinese that the matter be submitted to the Assembly. This is the first time that the Assembly has been called into extraordinary session to consider a crisis. Only once before has it met outside of its ordinary sessions. That was in 1926 when the members were called together for the purpose of considering the admittance of Germany.

On February 17, the League Council in another attempt to bring hostilities in the Far East to an end, dispatched a note to Japan requesting her to use "forbearance and restraint" in this time of crisis. The Council reminded Japan of her obligations under the Pact of Paris to seek a solution to disputes only by peaceful means. The note moreover recalled that Article X of the League Covenant, which Japan has signed and accepted, binds all members to respect the territory and the political independence of other members. Finally, it reminded Japan that she had an "incalculable responsibility before the public

opinion of the world to be just and restrained in her relations with China," because of her responsibility under the Nine Power Treaty of 1922 whereby she agreed to respect the "sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China."

The Japanese replied to the League note on February 23, saying that the method of procedure which it had adopted with respect to the Far Eastern situation was open to serious question, and that the Nine Power Treaty could not be held to apply to the developments which were taking place inasmuch as China was not recognized as an organized nation. The Japanese made it plain that to their way of thinking the League was not in a position to interfere in the matter. There did not seem to be any reason to hope that the dispute would be settled as the result of any steps taken by the League. It was apparent that Japan remained determined to protect her interests by force of arms if necessary.

While the fighting was taking place around Shanghai the situation in Manchuria was not quiet. On February 18 Manchuria was declared to be an independent state. The governors of Mukden, Kirin and Harbin, General Ma Chen-Shan who battled with the Japanese last fall, two Mongolian princes and the governor of Jehol, all signed the proclamation. Henry Pu-yi, the youthful former emperor of China, was installed as president. It was reported that the new government had been established largely under the supervision of Japan.

At the same time developments in Manchuria alarmed the Soviet government to such an extent that on February 23, a manifesto was issued by the War Office declaring that Czarist Russians were planning to seize Soviet territory in the Far East. It was charged that the Eastern and Western nations were plotting an attack on the Soviets and the War Office issued warnings to the country's military forces, which are reported to number about 5,000,000, to be prepared to defend Soviet territory. There was reason to believe that Russia was fearing for the safety of her interests in Manchuria, of her eastern seaport Vladivostok, and of portions of Siberia.

**T**HE Glass-Steagall bill, designed to relieve the banking situation in the United States, was passed by the Senate on February 19, a little more than a week after it had been introduced by Senator Carter Glass of Virginia. As was the case in the House, where the same bill, introduced by Representative Henry B. Steagall of Alabama, had been passed a few days earlier, few members opposed this important measure. However, before the bill was favorably voted upon in the upper house, several amendments were added which necessarily made the bill differ from the one accepted by the House. It was accordingly referred to a joint committee which immediately undertook to adjust the differences. It was expected that agreement would be reached, a second vote taken, and that the bill would be in the hands of the president for his signature by the end of the month.

There were two essential differences between the amended bill as accepted by the Senate and as passed by the House. The Senate voted to keep the new laws governing the Federal Reserve System in operation during a period of two years instead of one as was originally suggested. The second change had reference to the size of the banks which might receive new loans from the Federal Reserve banks. The House bill would not permit banks with a capital of more than \$500,000 to receive direct loans under the new provisions; whereas the Senate raised this figure to \$2,000,000. Banks with a larger capital will be permitted to borrow only by pooling their assets and bor-

rowing jointly with other banks. (See THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, February 24.)

**T**HE spirit of harmony which has prevailed between Republicans and Democrats during the present session of Congress appears to have reached an end. Until recently, the two parties have cooperated on the major proposals designed to bring the country out of the depression. They have acted with speed and apparently in a friendly manner to secure the enactment of such important legislation as the Reconstruction Finance Corporation measure, and the Glass-Steagall bill. But last week the political truce appeared to be in its last stages. John N. Garner, speaker of the House of Representatives, attacked the president and the administration in no uncertain terms. He claimed they had violated the truce by "claiming all the credit for whatever is accomplished." Mr. Garner made it clear in a public statement that the Democrats had no intention of letting the Republicans violate the truce while they continue to observe it.

Speaker Garner charged that members of the cabinet and other influential leaders have been trying to instill within the people of the nation the idea that President Hoover alone has been responsible for the emergency legislation enacted during the present session, merely for the purpose of improving his chances for reelection in the fall. He said that, as a matter of fact, the Democrats were just as responsible for these measures as the president and that without their cooperation he would have been unable to put them into effect.

It has been apparent for some time that the bonds of harmony between the Democrats and Republicans would be broken. Feeling began to show itself shortly after Lincoln's birthday. On that occasion, many Republicans called attention to the criticism which had been heaped upon the president from different quarters. They then pointed to his accomplishments while in office, stating that a great deal of credit was due him for the legislation recently enacted. Most of them predicted that such a program would result in his reelection. This angered many of the Democratic leaders. Then came the Glass-Steagall bill to relieve the banks in distress, for which the president was also given credit. Democratic members of Congress insisted Democrats had conceived the measure.

But the immediate cause of Speaker Garner's late outburst was a request made by the president to Congress a short time ago in which he sought authority to reorganize departments of the government for reasons of economy and efficiency. It was charged that the president had hurriedly submitted this plan because he had heard that the Democrats had a plan to offer.

Mr. Garner's statement will most likely have a considerable effect upon relations between the Democrats and Republicans during the remainder of the present session of Congress. The session is about half over and there remain numerous matters to be considered, perhaps the most important of which is the bill to increase taxes in order to meet the ever-mounting deficit in the federal treasury. Probably the two parties will cooperate in this matter because of its vital nature. But on many other issues there are reasons to believe that the debates will reflect the bitter feeling which has developed.

**A**FTER two weeks of preliminary discussions, in which all nations had an opportunity to express their views on the problem of armaments, the disarmament



NOW TO SMOKE THEM OUT  
—From EMPORIA GAZETTE

conference prepared last week to begin its real work. The conference will divide itself into a number of committees each of which will be requested to consider particular suggestions or plans which have been proposed. A number of countries will be represented on each committee, and when agreement has been reached the conference will again meet in full assembly to consider the outcome of the deliberations.

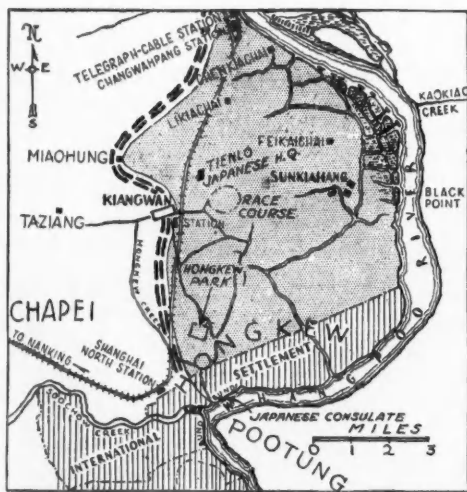
Developments at Geneva have been overshadowed by other events during the past week. The serious turn which the Far Eastern situation has taken has added difficulties to the already touchy subject of disarmament. Furthermore the ministerial crisis in France and the situation of Germany have acted as disturbing influences. It is not thought, however, that there will be any immediate change in the attitudes of either of those two countries, and their proposals will continue to be included in the subjects up for discussion.

**T**HE George Washington bicentennial celebration, which is to continue until Thanksgiving Day, was formally opened by the president of the United States at noon on February 22. At that time, the chief executive addressed a joint-session of Congress meeting in the House of Representatives. Mr. Hoover's address was delivered before an assembly composed of a number of the nation's most distinguished personages, including justices of the Supreme Court, cabinet members, and other high officials of the government. A public ceremony followed in front of the Capitol in which thousands of people, coming from all parts of the country, joined.

Mr. Hoover, in addressing the joint-session of Congress, paid tribute to the nation's first president, to his lofty ideals, his virtues and his accomplishments. He said in part:

The true eulogy of Washington is this mighty Nation. He contributed more to its origins than any other man. The influence of his character and of his accomplishments has contributed to the building of human freedom and ordered liberty, not alone upon this continent but upon all continents. The part which he played in the creation of our institutions has brought daily harvest of happiness to hundreds of millions of humanity. The inspirations from his genius have lifted the vision of succeeding generations. The definitions of those policies which he fathered have stood the test of 150 years of strain and stress.

**A**S the Democrats in many states are preparing to choose the delegates to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, nation-wide interest centers upon the candidates whom they will decide to support for the presidential nomination. It was reported last week that Alfred E. Smith had given permission to his supporters in Massachusetts to attempt to send a number of delegates to the convention pledged to vote for his nomination. It is expected that a sharp battle will follow in Massachusetts between those who are supporting Mr. Smith and those who favor the nomination of Franklin D. Roosevelt, governor of New York.



The shaded area shows the extent of Japanese penetration north of the International Settlement and west of the Whangpoo River. The heavy broken black lines indicate the approximate positions of the Chinese troops and entrenchments. Japanese military headquarters and the Japanese Consulate are shown.

—From New York HERALD-TRIBUNE



## THE LIBRARY TABLE

### RUSSIAN FORCED LABOR

Last year the British government published the results of an investigation into the conditions of labor in Russia. It was the object of this investigation to find out the extent to which the workers of Russia have been subject to conscription and have been forced to work at the tasks assigned them by the government. The Duchess of Atholl has prepared a summary of this investigation and has published the conclusions, together with her own interpretation, under the title "Conscription of a People" (New York: Columbia University Press. \$2.50).

The author presents a mass of evidence to show that the workers in Russia are very closely regulated. She does not prove at all that there is a widespread system of absolutely compulsory labor, but she does furnish proof that in the case of many industries workers are discriminated against and made very uncomfortable if they do not follow the plans laid out for them by the officials. In some cases it appears that there is outright compulsion. In the concluding chapter she says:

There is widespread exploitation of the labour of sentenced persons under very varying conditions of severity. Millions of peasants have been torn from their homes and sent to heavy compulsory labour, under rigorous climatic and other conditions. There is rapidly increasing conscription of ordinary people, men, women and children, under regulations so framed as to extort the last ounce of effort from an undernourished population; and it is openly stated that this conscription is to continue.

The duchess is clearly desirous of making out a case against the Communist government of Russia. She makes no effort to understand the motives of those in authority. Such conscription of labor as exists in Russia can be understood only by taking into account the fact that the Russians are undertaking to build a new system. They are engaged in a great experiment. They are trying to increase production in all industries so that their country may be independent of the rest of the world. That is the meaning of the Five Year Plan. They feel that they are in the midst of a great emergency and that every energy should be bent toward the realization of their objectives.

In our own country, in Great Britain, in Germany, in France, in Italy, conscription on a vast scale was resorted to a few years ago. Millions of men were compelled to fall into the service of their governments. The rest of the population was regulated in its activities. Many kinds of food were

rationed among the people. The reason was that these countries were in the midst of an emergency. They were carrying out a great objective. This objective was victory in warfare which they were carrying on. That seemed to them such a supremely important objective that the liberty of the individual amounted to nothing in comparison with it. That same spirit now animates the Russians, only their objective is not a military victory over neighboring peoples, but a stupendous increase in the production of the necessities of life, the winning of economic independence, and the establishment of a new kind of society. To them these ends are so supremely important that individual liberty cannot be allowed to stand in the way of realization.

Whether the giving up of liberty in order that a nation may win a war, or in order that it may increase its productiveness, or remold its society, is worth while, may be debated. But the thing which is going on in Russia cannot be understood unless it is seen as the submergence of liberty in order that great national objectives, whether wise or not, may be obtained. All this is ignored by the Duchess of Atholl. She has, however, amassed facts which may be useful in the study of what is going on in Russia.

### COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

The Council on Foreign Relations has published "World Affairs" by Walter Lippmann in collaboration with William O. Scroggs (New York: Harper and Brothers. \$3.00). It is the first volume of a series which is to present annually a survey of American foreign relations. The present volume deals with the year 1931. Perhaps no year since the World War has been filled with so many dramatic events of international concern. This book traces the development of the depression, and discloses its effects on the foreign policies of this country.

The narrative begins with an analysis of the economic difficulties which overwhelmed the Latin American countries and follows with a review of the European tariff discussions; then, a thorough survey of the "Anschluss" crisis, "the run on Germany," and the initiation of the debt moratorium by President Hoover; later, "the run on England" and the subsequent failure of that country to maintain the gold standard. The last chapter deals with the Sino-Japanese conflict in the Far East.

Even for one who follows the newspapers from day to day, this book should prove of inestimable value and interest. It is impartially presented and because of

its excellent continuity, it presents to the reader a clear perspective of the outstanding events. The statistical details which are included, instead of making the reading monotonous, clarify the issues and reveal their significance.

Mr. Lippmann recalls the viewpoint of the administration and that of business leaders at the beginning of the depression. After the stock market crash they assured the people that the country was fundamentally on a sound economic basis. The collapse was merely due to overspeculation but that had been checked, it was said. Later, however, when business gradually became worse, President Hoover came to the conclusion that these adverse conditions were the result of conditions abroad. He thought that by restoring confidence, by not reducing wages and by maintaining a high tariff, we could recover independently of foreign countries. But it was not long before the administration had to change its position once again. The depression was world wide. Furthermore, a large part of our trouble was caused by overproduction which resulted in a drastic deflation of prices.

The United States could not pursue a policy of isolation. Compelling economic and political forces drew us into the world arena. Nations had become interdependent. As a result, many international conferences had to be held discussing subjects that a few decades ago were thought to be of only national concern.

Walter Lippmann traces and interprets all these developments in a way which, to one interested in public affairs, is as inviting as fiction, and he furnishes a background which enables one to gain a better understanding of the world crisis.

### WORLD CHAOS

William McDougall, the well known social psychologist, has written a thoughtful little book called "World Chaos" (New York: Covici Friede. \$1.25). His point of view is not strikingly new but is forcefully presented. He takes the position that scientific development has been lopsided. The physical sciences have made immense strides but the social sciences have not kept up with them. As a result of scientific discoveries and of the application of these discoveries to our industrial institutions, we have developed a tremendously complex society. The work of government is much more difficult than it used to be, and yet the science of government has made little progress.

Not only the science of government but the sciences upon which government depends have lagged behind. Nothing like the attention is given, says Professor McDougall, to economics, sociology and psychology that is given to the physical sciences. This neglect, coupled with the fact that the social sciences are far harder to master than the physical, has led us into the present situation — a world which confuses and bewilders us.

Professor McDougall

does not write with the calm detachment which one admires in a writer who purports to be a scientist. In his enthusiasm for his theory, he writes down his opponents mercilessly, and sometimes, unfairly. When, for example, he argues that disarmament alone will not insure peace, he says, "Yet year after year, we continue to haggle and maneuver in preparation for a conference for the reduction of arms, as though such reduction were a sure guaranty of peace; and gradually, as the date for the

final effort draws near, the futility of the whole procedure begins to force itself into general recognition in spite of all our rationalizations."

Now, of course, responsible advocates of disarmament conferences do not look upon them as sure guaranties of peace. They believe that a reduction of armaments would be beneficial (a) because it would lessen the terrific financial burdens of nations; and (b) because it would, in a measure, allay the fear and suspicion and consequent hatred which accompany unlimited armament races.

But though this book may be read with the caution we have suggested, it supplements very effectively the far greater works of Graham Wallas and the other reasoned writings which argue the necessity for greater attention to the political and social sciences.

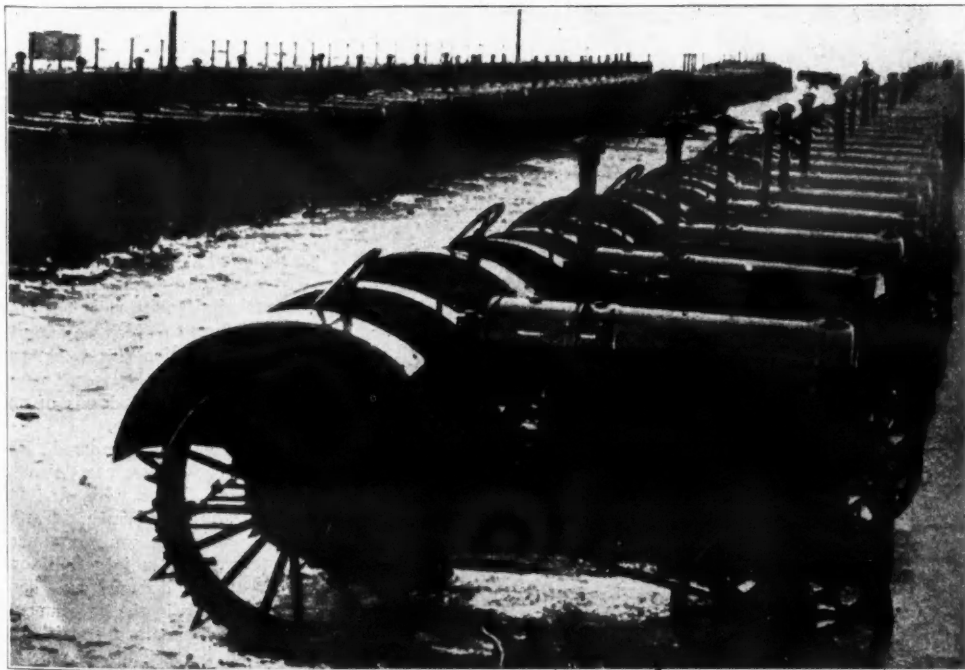
### "MARY'S NECK"

Booth Tarkington's latest addition to his long list of novels is one of the most entertaining and readable stories ever to have come from his facile pen. "Mary's Neck" (New York: Doubleday, Doran. \$2.50) is the story of the experiences of a Middle-Western family at a New England summer resort, the name of which is implied by the title of the book. Mr. Massey, president of the Logansville Light and Power Company of Logansville, Illinois, having amassed a sizable fortune, comes to New England with his wife and two daughters. Mary's Neck is a colony frequented by well-to-do families aspiring to social distinction and prominence. The attempts of the Massey family to "break in" to society, the adventures they have in doing so, are ably recounted in the form of a monologue, Mr. Massey acting as narrator.

If one is looking for pure entertainment, "Mary's Neck" is a book which will help to pass away an idle hour or so. Mr. Tarkington is an excellent craftsman, with an enviable sense of humor. However, if one seeks a searching criticism of the vain and superficial life which is led in so many summer colonies, it is not to be found within the covers of "Mary's Neck." The state of affairs is well portrayed, but Mr. Tarkington does it good-humoredly. One is led to think that while he does not approve of life at Mary's Neck, he nevertheless does not actually condemn it. But despite the treatment which Mr. Tarkington gives his subject, certain deductions may be drawn by the reader interested in social problems. In this way it provides some food for thought. As a social study it leaves much to be desired; as an entertaining novel, it has all the necessary elements.

### A CORRECTION

In the issue of January 27, 1932, in reviewing the book of the Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science for January, 1932 (Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York), entitled "Can Prices, Production, and Employment be Effectively Regulated?" we gave the price as \$1.00. The book sells for \$2.50.



An illustration from "Soviet Russia," by William Henry Chamberlin (Little Brown)  
MASS PRODUCTION IN RUSSIA

In order to bring about the realization of the Five Year Plan, the Russians are making every effort to develop their industries. No one is spared the necessity of working.





LAST week we pointed out a similarity between the problems of reconstruction following the American Civil War and the problems of world reconstruction which have been left in the wake of the World War. We may now consider some of the economic and moral consequences of the two wars to see whether we can find a suggestion of a common element in the two situations.

Wars are nearly always carried on in a spirit of lofty idealism. When peoples go into battle they always think they are fighting for great causes. "We stand at Armageddon and we battle for the Lord," is an old, old cry. In any given war, the contestants on the opposite sides say they are battling for the cause of Jehovah and, so long as the fighting goes on, they are borne up by a sense of exaltation. That was true of the North and the South during the Civil War. It was true of the nations—Germans and Allies—in the World War. There is no denying the fact that both these wars did bring to the surface a great deal of self-sacrifice—a great deal of altruism.

It is just as true that when wars are over and people have had time to assess the consequences, there are likely to be periods of disillusion. It inevitably results that all the parties in a war lose. No nation in modern times ever comes out of a war as well off as it went in. People slowly begin to sense this fact, and they grow cynical. The main springs of altruism dry up; selfishness asserts itself and there is likely to be a period of sordidness and cynicism and greed.

There is another explanation for the fall from idealism to cynicism—from altruism to sordidness. A war is at best a vicious thing. It cannot be carried on except in the midst of hatreds more bitter than people know in times of peace. It cannot be carried to a successful conclusion without murder on a grand scale. It cannot be justified except on the theory that human life is after all not as precious as people usually assume that it is. It therefore happens that a war, if it lasts for any length of time, is likely to exercise a debasing effect upon the citizens of the nation engaging in it. It is likely to render them less sensitive to human worth. It exalts force above justice.

All this is not to say that wars are in every case wrong and that they should not be fought.

After the Civil War perhaps they should; perhaps they should not. We are not here concerned with that question.

We are only saying that wars set into operation forces that might be expected to lead to moral disintegration, to cynicism and to a falling away from the standards of governmental rectitude which had been slowly built up during the years of peace. The student of history knows to a certainty that such a result followed the American Civil War. Demoralization in the South we shall not discuss because it was imposed by the victors. But there was a demoralization in the North such as the nation had never known. Professor W. A. Dunning in his "Reconstruction, Political and Economic" describes

the years following the Civil War. He tells of the materialism, the speculation, the greed, of the inevitable financial and economic collapse. He speaks of the governmental corruption which characterized the Grant administration as "the nadir of national disgrace." Among the scandals of that time were those associated with the Whiskey Ring. Distillers were known to be evading the tax on whiskey and yet they always escaped detection because whenever an attempt was made to prosecute them news of the proposed raids leaked out from official sources to the distillers. Finally, through the activities of Secretary of the Treasury Bristow, an enormous amount of evasion was made public and prominent distillers were arrested. A St. Louis politician, John McDonald, who held a responsible position in the Internal Revenue Service, was one to be found guilty. He enjoyed the confidence of political leaders and had given President Grant a gift of a valuable pair of horses which Grant had accepted, as the historian Rhodes says, "with oriental nonchalance." President Grant's private secretary, General Babcock, was implicated in the deal and was brought to trial and Grant, according to the testimony of the attorney-general, interfered when his case was being prosecuted, dictating modifications in the prosecution in order to free Babcock. The president forced the resignation of Secretary of the Treasury Bristow who had brought about the prosecution of the frauds.

At the same time, the secretary of war, W. W. Belknap, was found to have accepted money as payment for keeping a certain post trader at a post in the Indian Territory. A committee of the House of Representatives recommended his impeachment. In order to avoid the impeachment trial, he resigned and, to the chagrin of those who wished justice to be meted out to him, his resignation was accepted by the president.

It is not to be supposed that all these things happened merely because General

Grant, a man who though honest himself was so inexperienced in politics as to be a puppet of tricksters, was the man to be in the White House. These things that have been described were symptomatic of a debasement of political ideals which found expression in all parts of the country. These were the days of the famous Tweed Ring in New York City; days of municipal graft which should make the student of history blush for shame. Professor Dunning closes his chapter on "The Nadir of National Disgrace" with this comment:

The most cunning and malignant enemy of the United States would not have timed differently this period of national ill-repute; for it came with the centennial of American independence. A century of the nation's life rounded to completion amid the scandals that have been described. From his preoccupation with the persecuted virtue of Babcock and the vicious ambition of Bristow, the president was called to Philadelphia to open officially the notable exhibition which from May till November illustrated the progress and fed the pride of the people. On July 4 an impressive ceremony at Philadelphia and an immense access of enthusiasm throughout the country signalized the actual completion of the hundred years. The occasion, depressing as it was to those who felt most keenly the incongruities of things, served a very useful purpose in diverting the great masses who wished to be diverted from the evidence that the venerated institutions of the fathers had not produced precisely what the fathers would have desired.

The demoralization, social and political, and finally economic, which followed the World War, is too recent to require elaboration here. The period is

After the World War very well pictured in Frederick L. Allen's "Only Yesterday." Mr. Allen speaks of the demoralizing influences of war and the debasing effect of war psychology upon character and ideals. He says that the older people and those who were in middle age held fairly well to the standards to which they had been accustomed. But the younger generation, not so well grounded in tradition, felt most keenly the psychological effect of the war.

The Harding administration, like that of Grant, was a period characterized by much

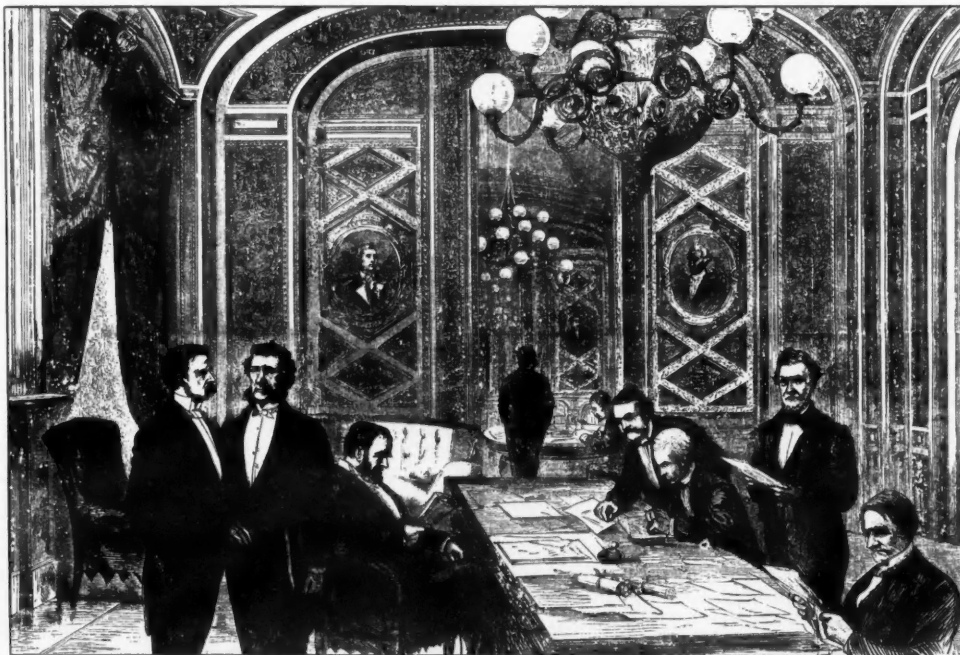
public corruption and by governmental scandals of a disgraceful sort. These were the days of Teapot Dome and the oil scandals. The Harding cabinet, like that of Grant, was tainted by corruption. One of its members is now in prison. Two others resigned under fire. Although the cases of public corruption were so flagrant that they would have stirred a sensitive people to excited anger, they were accepted quite good naturedly and without much protest by a population which had grown tired of idealism and which had been rendered insensitive to the finer aspirations of life by having passed through the bestialities of a great war. "The fact was," says Mr. Allen in "Only Yesterday," "that any relentless investigation of the scandals threatened to disturb, if only slightly, the status quo, and disturbance of the status quo was the last thing that the dominant business class or the country at large wanted."

In both the periods which we are reviewing, there were outbursts of unprecedented business activity and of wild speculation. In each case, the bubble of prosperity was pricked by a business crash. Industrial disturbances, such as the depression of the seventies or the one through which we are now passing, are not due always to wars. But in each of these cases they have been rendered far more severe by the industrial dislocations brought about by war.

We have undertaken to point out that a few years after the Civil War and a few years after the World War the country passed through periods of moral degeneracy and shameless governmental scandal. We have suggested a connection between these phenomena and the wars themselves. They seem to grow quite naturally out of conditions inevitably found in times of war. It would, of course, be unfair to take these two illustrations and make a broad inference about the effects of wars. That is the sort of thing which is frequently done. But it is always unscientific. One cannot describe the effects of one or two wars and then assume that the same effects must necessarily follow all wars.

The evidence is very strong, however, as we have said, that these two illustrations do point to conditions which may be expected to flow from wars, and if more space were at our disposal we could cite other illustrations to show how wars have exercised a degenerative effect upon ideals—public and private. But, however the case may stand for wars in general, it is quite clear that the two conflicts to which we are giving our attention this week, the Civil War and the World War, were followed by periods of national demoralization.

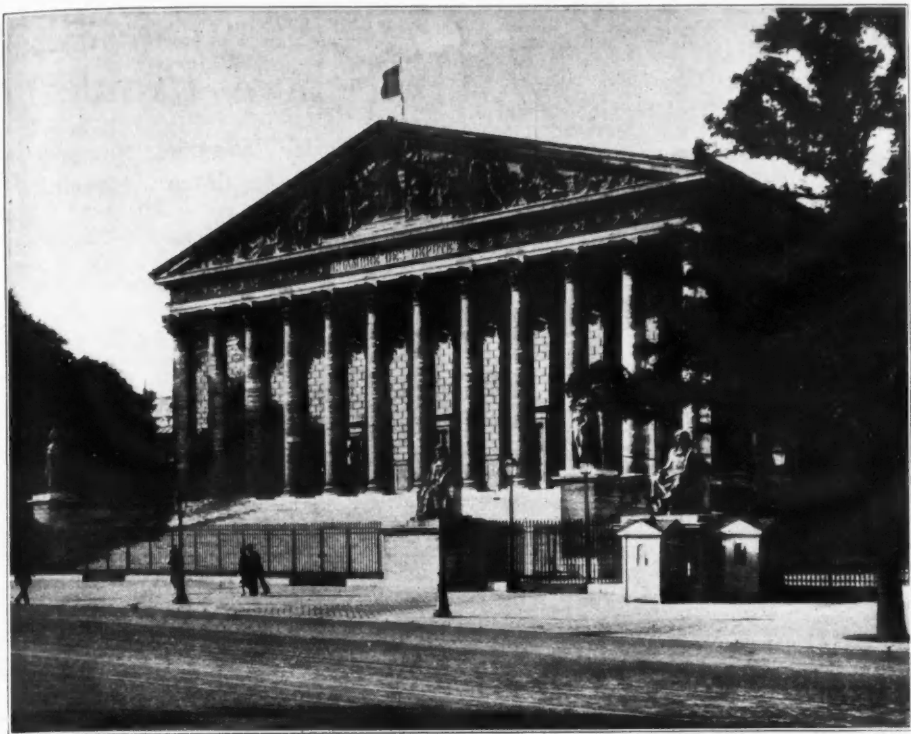
Business was rendered less stable in both these cases than it had been. There were, first inflation and then crash. Traditional moralities were uprooted. There were shameful exhibitions of greed and dishonesty. There were scandals in the government, and these were, in the main, unpunished because of the apathy of a public which, partly because of the debasing emotions incident to war, had grown callous to wrong-doing.



—From HARPER'S WEEKLY (Culver Service)  
THE END OF THE GRANT ADMINISTRATION

President Grant and his cabinet assembled in the Capitol at midnight, March 3, 1877. The chief executive had been signing bills up to the last minute.





THE FRENCH CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

© Ewing Galloway

## FRANCE AND GERMANY AWAITING ELECTIONS

(Concluded from page 1, column 1)

of Deputies, or lower house, which may be likened roughly to the Senate and the House of Representatives in this country. In addition to this there is a prime minister, as in England, although in France he is known as the premier or the president of the Council of Ministers. He heads the cabinet, the members of which are placed in charge of the various government departments.

The president of France is nothing more than a figurehead. He has practically no power, but his position is one of great honor and prestige. He is elected by the two chambers sitting together in assembly. His term is for seven years. Probably his most important duty is to select new premiers. When a cabinet has been overturned, the president designates some member of one of the two houses, to assume the role of premier and to choose the other ministers of the cabinet. But even then the president has actually little to say as to who shall be the premier, for, before the new cabinet can begin to function, it must have the approval of the Chamber of Deputies. Generally a new premier is careful to have the approval of the Senate as well, although this is not absolutely necessary.

As to the legislative bodies, the Senate, the upper house, is of far less importance than the Chamber of Deputies. Senators are elected for a period of nine years, one-third of the body being chosen every three years. The senators represent the various departments, or territorial divisions of France. Some of them are likewise sent to Paris by the colonies. All told, there are 89 departments in France, and 314 members of the Senate. Senators are chosen by electoral colleges made up in each of the departments by the different departmental, municipal and local officials of the department. They are not, therefore, elected directly by the people. The Senate's greatest function lies in approving or rejecting the bills proposed by the Chamber of Deputies. It acts as a check on the lower body, as no bill can become a law unless approved by the Senate. Of itself, it originates few bills.

### CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

The Chamber of Deputies, therefore, is the principal law-making body of France. Its members are elected directly by the people for a period of four years. The entire house is chosen at one time. Nearly all the laws originate in the Chamber.

That body has the power to force a ministry out of office by withdrawing its approval and voting against it. The Chamber of Deputies thus controls the cabinet, and can at any time force a change.

This is the reason why there are so many ministries in France. A premier never knows when he is going to be refused a vote of confidence, for he cannot be certain of retaining control of an absolute majority of votes. There are no large political parties in France as there are in this country. In the chambers, the members align themselves in smaller parties, more accurately known as groups. These groups are not highly organized as are our political parties, and groups rise and fall, appear and vanish, as sentiments and issues vary. A senator or a deputy may belong to any group and may change from one to another at any time without harm to his political career.

There are a number of these political groups in France. In the Chamber of Deputies there are about fourteen, and in the Senate seven. With so many divisions it is hardly possible for any one group to control a majority of the 314 votes in the Senate or of the 612 in the Chamber of Deputies. Accordingly, a ministry in order to win a vote of confidence, must be installed by a compromise agreement among different groups, which, voting together, can command a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. But the moment there is disagreement, and a group withdraws its support, the ministry must fall.

### POLITICAL PARTIES

Thus, it is necessary to conciliate the various factions, and in order to do this a ministry is always made up of members of several groups. For instance, the premier may belong to the Left Republican group, his foreign minister to the Democratic and Social Action group, and his minister of war to the Radical Left group. Thus, ministers of the same cabinet usually differ in political beliefs. But this is no obstacle to the formation of a ministry.

The names attached to the groups mean little. A group may call itself Radical Left, and yet, as far as its policies are concerned, it may be far from radical. However, the groups which are more radical and which desire to have sweeping changes brought about are known as members

of the Left Wing. Similarly, those which are more conservative belong to the Right Wing. They are seated that way in the two houses. For instance, in the Chamber of Deputies, at the extreme left sit the Communists, the most radical group, and at the extreme right, the ultra-conservatives. The other groups are seated between the two extremes according to the policies they advocate.

If the Left groups predominate, the house is said to lean to the left, and if the Right groups are in a majority, it leans to the right. It often happens that the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies lean in different directions. At present, the Senate is Left and the Chamber of Deputies inclines to the Right. This results in much disagreement between the two bodies, and makes it extremely difficult for a ministry to function successfully.

### WHY LAVAL RESIGNED

Such are the difficulties of French political life. Ministries are very frequently overturned and are replaced by new ones. M. Laval resigned because the Senate manifested so much hostility to his policies that it would have been practically impossible for him to carry on. Considerable difficulty was experienced in forming a new cabinet. President Doumer first called on Paul Painlevé, member of a Left group in the Chamber of Deputies. It was hoped that he would be able to form a cabinet acceptable to the Senate, which is Left. But he could not win the support of enough Right groups in the Chamber to assure him of the necessary support. He was forced to abandon the task. M. Doumer then asked André Tardieu, minister of war in the late Laval cabinet, and head of the French delegation to the disarmament conference, to form a cabinet. M. Tardieu belongs to a Right group, but was able to win enough support to give him the needed vote of confidence.

Finally we come to a consideration of the reason why M. Laval lost favor and was obliged to resign. It appears that in recent months there has been considerable dissatisfaction in France with the manner in which M. Laval was conducting the government. The depression is now having very severe effects upon the country, a condition which naturally tends to make any people discontented. Moreover, many

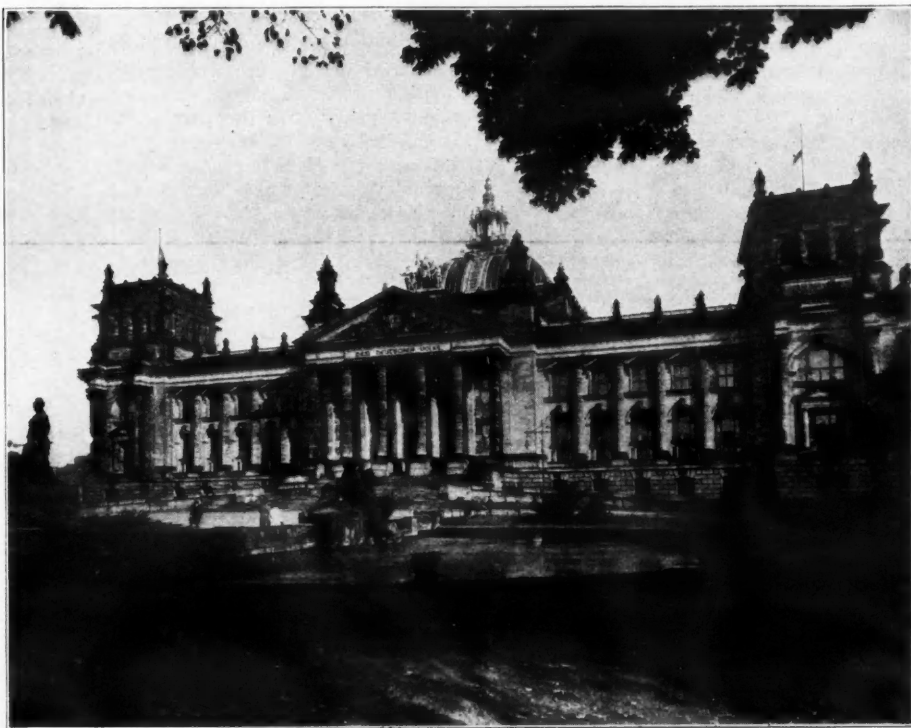
French people seem to feel that they are losing the friendship of other countries, through the attitude which their government has taken toward such problems as German reparations, allied war debts and disarmament. A number of them are beginning to think that they are gaining nothing by refusing to adopt a more liberal attitude toward such problems. M. Laval has been against such a policy, and while the fall of his cabinet was directly due to disagreement with the Senate over a purely internal measure, it is held that his foreign policies had a great deal to do with it.

Whether or not this is true will be determined by the elections which are to take place in France this spring. A new Chamber of Deputies is to be chosen, and the future policy of France will depend upon whether the new Chamber is Left or Right. If it remains Right as it is at present, it may be expected that the policies of M. Laval and of M. Tardieu will be continued. However, if it becomes Left, it is probable that France will modify her attitude on a number of problems. This is the importance of the coming elections, and it is evident why France cannot act at present in matters of an international nature. It is not certain whether the election will result in a Right or a Left Chamber of Deputies.

### GERMANY

The political situation in Germany will not require such a lengthy discussion. As has been stated, a presidential election is to be held in that country on March 13. The day will be a critical one for Germany because at that time the National Socialists, or Hitlerites, will try to gain power. Adolf Hitler himself has decided to run for the presidency, and is acquiring German citizenship to permit him to do so. It will be a direct test between Hitler and other elements in Germany which have manifested dissatisfaction with the government, and President von Hindenburg who strongly supports Chancellor Brüning's policies. The eighty-four-year-old president dramatically announced on February 15 that he would run again for the presidency. There had been considerable doubt as to whether he would allow his name to be placed before the voters, for he had been extremely reluctant to prolong his political life.

But at length he consented, deeming it his duty, even at his age, to stand against those factions which seek to overthrow the Brüning régime. The German president has tremendous prestige throughout Germany, and is looked upon by millions of Germans and foreigners as the symbol and guaranty of German stability and security.



THE GERMAN REICHSTAG

It is in this massive building that the foremost legislative body in Germany meets.

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## People of Washington Seek Right To Congressional Representation

**Voteless Inhabitants of Capital City Have No Control Over Local or National Affairs. Congress Given Complete Authority Over District**

Washington, D. C., is one of the most peculiar cities in the United States. Founded by the leaders of the American Revolution, its inhabitants are the only people in the country who have no right to manage their municipal affairs. Furthermore, they have no vote in the national elections, and are without representation in Congress. This situation, which has given rise to a continuous movement for reform, can only be appreciated after a study of the city's history, the intentions of those who planned and began its construction, and its place in the American governmental scheme.

### EARLY CAPITALS

After the Declaration of Independence, the seat of the colonial government was at Philadelphia. Continuous fighting with the British in this area made regular meetings there not only inconvenient, but actually dangerous. Congresses were forced to gather at one time or another in Baltimore, Lancaster, Princeton, Annapolis, Trenton or New York. The legislators soon grew tired of this, so that when they met to draw up the present Constitution in 1787, they included a clause providing for an area, not more than ten miles square, over which Congress was to have complete control. There was considerable disagreement as to where this area, the future seat of the national government, should be located.

During the next year, however, the representatives of the various states were able to come to an agreement. It was decided that Philadelphia should remain the federal headquarters for ten years, but that the seat of government should be transferred at the expiration of that time to "the Indian place with the long name, on the Potomac." The long name was Conococheague, and the place designated was the present site of Washington. The task of surveying the country, negotiating for the land and preparing it for the installation of government buildings was assigned to the country's most prominent personage, George Washington. The latter named a commission of three other engineers to help him, and set to work immediately. Maryland and Virginia ceded one county apiece to the government, forming a block ten miles square. Washington encountered difficulties in convincing the individuals who owned the land to make way for the government by selling or leasing it to him, but these obstacles were largely overcome by 1791. The place then was ready for the architects and engineers.

### PLANNING THE CITY

The original purpose of the men who founded the federal city was to provide a federal workshop, but Washington had far loftier ideas. He foresaw the day when it should become the national "parlor." Consequently, he turned over the task of planning the city to Pierre L'Enfant, a distinguished French architect and engineer who had served in the Colonial army as a major. This man, who began work in March, 1791, laid out the plans which have been followed in a large measure to this day. He himself abandoned the project a year later, because of a series

of quarrels with the landowners of the district. One man in particular angered him by refusing to remove his home from a site chosen by L'Enfant for a monument. His ideas, however, have been carried out by those who followed.

Later, in 1846, the people living in the former Virginia county requested to be rejoined to that state. This was done, so that the District of Columbia, the territory within which the city of Washington was begun and expanded, now comprises sixty-

sponsible to him, and not to the people. They estimate the amount of taxes required each year and submit it to Congress for approval. The people are not consulted. However, Congress supports a portion of the city expenses, for there are always many people using the public conveniences of Washington who do not reside there; they come on official business, or for sightseeing purposes. Last year, out of a total budget of \$45,000,000, the federal contribution was \$9,500,000.

### PROTEST

The long fight of the Washingtonians who wish to acquire a vote is led today by Theodore W. Noyes, editor of the *Washington Star*, who believes that the District of Columbia should be given the same privileges as a state. His principal arguments are that "taxation without representation is tyranny," that the District outranks seven states in population, and that the wealth and influence of its inhabitants are superior to those of a number of states.



© Ewing Galloway

AN UNUSUAL VIEW OF A FAMOUS BUILDING  
Full jurisdiction over the District of Columbia is in the hands of Congress. Residents of the city have long been agitating for the right to manage their own affairs.

four square miles instead of the original one hundred.

### GOVERNING IT

Such is the interesting background of Washington as a governmental headquarters and a national beauty spot. But what of its inhabitants? After the government had established itself in Washington, as the city was named by Hamilton and Jefferson, the people living in the area were allowed to have their own way in the management of local affairs. They had done so when the land belonged to the states, and continued as before. After seventy years, however, a radical change was made. The municipal governments were abolished in 1871, and the District was given a territorial status. Its people elected a voteless representative to Congress. A municipal legislature was set up, the lower house of which was elected by the people. The upper house and its presiding officer, the governor of the District, were appointed by the president. This system lasted until 1874, when Congress took over complete control of the District. Territorial government was removed, and a Board of Commissioners was set up. There are three commissioners, two of whom must be civilian residents of the District for at least three years before their appointment; the third man is chosen from the Engineer Corps of the army. These officials are appointed by the president with the advice and consent of the Senate; they are re-

sponsible to him, and not to the people. They estimate the amount of taxes required each year and submit it to Congress for approval. The people are not consulted. However, Congress supports a portion of the city expenses, for there are always many people using the public conveniences of Washington who do not reside there; they come on official business, or for sightseeing purposes. Last year, out of a total budget of \$45,000,000, the federal contribution was \$9,500,000.

The movement, which is almost as old as the District itself, has been supported by many prominent business men and legislators. The majority do not advocate the granting of full state privileges to the District of Columbia, but feel that its citizens should at least be represented in Congress, and have a vote in the election of the president and vice-president.

The arguments of those who believe that the administration of the capital should remain a federal matter are based primarily on the purposes of those who drew up the Constitution. They maintain that the government came and built the city in what was little more than a wilderness, and that it has the right to dispose of it according to federal necessities.

The Constitution, as stated earlier, gives Congress absolute control over the seat of federal government. President Hoover himself has made the statement, "I am the mayor of Washington." Other points brought forward include the unusually large number of parks in the District, the remarkable public recreational facilities, and other municipal institutions which are said to prove that Washington is well governed, and administered in the best interests of its inhabitants.

## Educators Study School Problems

**Financial Difficulties Discussed at N. E. A. Group Convention**

The numerous and complex problems confronting the schools of the nation were the principal topics of discussion at the convention of school superintendents held in Washington last week. Prominent educators from all sections of the country laid before the meeting, held under the auspices of the National Education Association, the many difficulties which schools are now experiencing in maintaining high standards of education during a period of severe economic depression.

It was pointed out in clear terms by Dr. Edwin C. Broome, superintendent of the Philadelphia Schools and president of the organization which met last week, that never in the past has the public school system of the nation been so threatened as at present. Thousands of communities are facing such financial straits that it is a difficult matter to provide the funds necessary for the support of their schools. Efforts are being made on all sides to curtail expenses in such a way as to make ends meet. City governments and boards of education, under pressure of hard times, have been urged to reduce the expenditures for education by shortening the school year or by other means of retrenchment.

Many of those addressing the 15,000 heads of schools urged extreme caution and wisdom in putting into operation any such program. They pointed out the undesirable consequences likely to follow unwise action. Shortening of the school year for reasons of economy, it was said, would have the effect of increasing crime among the youth of the nation. Pupils thrown into the streets might be led to theft, and other practices which would be possible factors in undermining the high standards which the schools have been upholding for years.

On the other hand, the superintendents were not unaware of the problems with which city governments are wrestling at present in order to maintain their schools. Many realized that reduction of expenditures was inevitable in many cases and they manifested their willingness to cooperate. Suggestions were offered which, it was thought, might prove helpful in solving the problem. The educators agreed that certain reforms in school systems could be inaugurated.

A special committee, working on the question of costs of keeping up educational systems, advanced a proposal of profound importance because it strikes at the very root of the problem. It proposed that in every state a special group—composed of expert economists, private citizens and representatives of the school system—be organized for the purpose of studying the system of taxation from which the schools derive their funds. It was thought that some new form of taxation—such as the income tax or the sales tax—might be used as a means of insuring the schools the necessary funds in a more adequate manner than the general property tax which was classed as "antiquated." At present a large number of school systems depend upon revenue thus derived.

General elections held in Japan on February 20 gave the Seiyukai Party a large majority over its opponents. This political party, to which Premier Inukai belongs, is said to support the military activities of Japan in Manchuria and around Shanghai.